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categorie-trefwoord: 04.1 **ZUID-AFRIKA:** **ANC - algemeen**
category-keyword: 04.1 **SOUTH AFRICA:** **ANC - general**

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Date: 18-12-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 4

Body blow for PAC moderates (background & implications resignation Dikgang MOSENEKE from PAC) + ANC, DP to kiss and make up (conflict between ANC vs DP in the Western Cape).

Date: 14-12-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 4

Speech ANC-pres. N.Mandela to the Free Ethiopian Church of Southern Africa in Potchefstroom (on historical and present role Ethiopian and other churches in South Africa).

Date: 02-12-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 26

SA: Torture, ill-treatment and executions in ANC camps (Amnesty International) – A.I.-report on maltreatment of 'dissidents' in ANC-camps in Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, etc., critical comment on ANC Commission of Inquiry, ANC's internal Code of Conduct, A.I. and ANC abuses, issues of indemnity and accountability, etc.

Date: 00-12-92 Source: Amandla Page: 6

De Klerk verspilt ongelooflijk veel tijd: samenv. Amandlalezing Allan Boesak in A'dam (28/10/92) over ANC-opstelling in huidige politieke situatie Zuid-Afrika en noodzaak snelle veranderingen

Date: 00-12-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 50

Ready to govern: An introduction to the ANC's Policy Guidelines (incl. sections on a democratic constitution, new system of local government, economic & land policy, etc.).

Date: 00-12-92 Source: African Communist, 131 Page: 3-53

Negotiations: the strategic debate – editorial notes as introduction to the debate within the ANC-led alliance over its negotiations-strategy sparked off by Joe Slovo's intervention "Negotiations: What room for compromise" (p.3-6) + 7 contributions by leading ANC/SACP-members and structures on this debate (P.Jordan, B.Nzimande, H.Gwala, R.Suttner a.o.).

Date: 00-12-92 Source: African Communist, 131 Page: 7-15

Negotiations: the strategic debate – A response to Joe Slovo by Pallo Jordan (critical comments on J.Slovo's "What room for compromise" paper, its sunset clauses, etc.; notes).

Date: 00-12-92 Source: African Communist, 131 Page: 16-23

Negotiations: the strategic debate – A reply to Joe Slovo by Blade Nzimande (critical comments on J.Slovo's "What room for compromise" paper, negotiations and struggle, etc.; notes).

Date: 00-12-92 Source: African Communist, 131 Page: 24-28

Negotiations: the strategic debate – A reply to Joe Slovo by Harry Gwala (critical comments on J.Slovo's "What room for compromise" paper, negotiations and the class struggle, etc.)

Date: 00-12-92 Source: African Communist, 131 Page: 29-37

Negotiations: the strategic debate – A reply to Joe Slovo by Raymond Suttner (critical comments on J.Slovo's "What room for compromise" paper + responses by B.Nzimande, H.Gwala, P.Jordan and other critics of Slovo's position; references).

Date: 00-12-92 **Source: African Communist, 131** **Page: 38-44**

Negotiations: the strategic debate – A reply to P.Jordan and B.Nzimande's critical responses to J.Slovo's "What room for compromise" paper by Jemery Cronin (on inadequate critique).

Date: 00-12-92 **Source: African Communist, 131** **Page: 45-53**

Negotiations: the strategic debate – position of ANC Youth League + ANC NEC statements 25/11/92 on ANC's negotiations strategy (in relation to its general strategic perspectives)

Date: 30-11-92 **Source: Focus on Negotiation** **Page: 3-27**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on political developments/negotiations in South Africa in November 1992, incl. negotiations (p.4-9), positions government (p.10-18), ANC (p.19-27), SACP (p.28-31), trade unions, etc.

Date: 30-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on SAAF air space violations (esp. of Angola).

Date: 28-11-92 **Source: South** **Page: 4** **Number of pages: 1**

Dorpie democracy' claims its victims: continual problems for ANC and community organisations in rural areas Western Cape with repression against struggle for political freedom.

Date: 27-11-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 5**

Nystroom has changed forever: impact first-ever ANC-demo in Northern Transvaal town of Nylstroom + Afrikaner homeland takes shape after talks with ANC (by Afrikaner Volksunie).

Date: 27-11-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 347**

ANC in confident mood opens way for Buthelezi meeting (results NEC-meeting ANC, esp. on negotiations policy) + (MK-)Guerillas returned to unemployment and hostility.

Date: 25-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 9**

Negotiations: a strategic perspective – amended negotiations strategy document adopted by NEC of ANC on 25/11/1992 (see also previous version dated 18/11/1992 adopted by NWC).

Date: 21-11-92 **Source: South** **Page: 6**

Socialists sound off over a sunset settlement: review various critical reactions from ANC/SACP activists on Joe Slovo's paper "Negotiations: what room for compromise?".

Date: 18-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Negotiations – a strategic perspective (as adopted by the ANC National Working Committee on 18/11/92): review (changes in) balance of forces, implications for liberation movement, strategic perspective of negotiations, short and long-term goals, the need for a government of national unity, etc. (incl. willingness to certain – limited – compromises).

Date: 16-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on positions attributed to Mr. F.W. de Klerk (general on transformation/negotiations process).

Date: 14-11-92 **Source: South** **Page: 4**

'Ask Mandela for raise' workers told: miserable living/working conditions farm workers in Western Cape + Karoo town sees 'scare tactics' against ANC members (Murraysburg).

Date: 13-11-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1+4/5**

MK rebellion simmers + The volatile cocktail of Umkhonto's disillusioned soldiers: (former) MK-officials Hani and Nyanda on problems returned MK-soldiers in South Africa with repression, unemployment, crime and violence, lack of (political) recognition, etc., incl. implications for ANC.

Date: 13-11-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 8/9**

Daggers drawn in the Slovo sunset: debate in ANC-alliance on (J.Slovo's proposals on) negotiations strategy + Committing suicide by concession (position P.Jordan) + Nothing to gain from all-or-nothing tactics (position J.Cronin).

Date: 12-11-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 5**

Regeringskomplot teen Niehaus: door regering geleide campagne in/door de Zuid-Afrikaanse media tegen (invloedrijke) ANC-woordvoerder Carl NIEHAUS (inkl. kommentaar Beyers Naude).

Date: 11-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on basic rights for farm and domestic workers (announcement new labour legislation on farm and domestic workers).

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 12/13**

Mass action: towards an integrated strategy – how to ensure organisational growth and an integrated approach to each campaign (with spec. attention to campaigns in bantustans).

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 35-37**

Strategy conference needed (disc.art. ANC-activist on need for common strategic approach to mass action and negotiations) + Political youth organisations: what future? (ANC Youth League official on need to develop broad youth-based programmes on issues affecting all youth, regardless of political affiliation).

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: DOK. 10.2D** **Number of pages: 8**

Angola Berichten (MKA), nr.38: o.a. MKA schenkt materialen aan Angolees kraamcentrum (p.2/3) + Angola tussen hoop en vrees (verslag waarnemers MKA van achtergronden en gang van zaken verkiezingen in sept.'92; p.4-6) + ANC-ziekenhuis over gedragen aan regering Tanzania (ANC-Holland Solidarity Hospital in Mazimbu; p.6/7) + Financieel verslag MKA 1991 (p.8).

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: Southern Africa Report** **Page: 4-7**

Mass action: SA's second referendum – general assessment by J.S. Saul of the current political situation (stalemate) in South Africa, the logic of mass action by ANC c.s., the issues at stake in the negotiations, debating transformation in South Africa, etc

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 6**

The strategic debate in the ANC: disc.paper P.Jordan on the negotiations strategy of the ANC, summarising developments since 1990 and arguing for continued pressure on regime.

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 11**

Ensuring stable transition to democratic power: a reply to Slovo and his critics (R.Suttner) – disc.art. on political strategy (incl. negotiations) of ANC c.s., spec. about Joe Slovo's art. 'What room for compromise' and critical reactions by B.Nzimande and H.Gwala [see DOK. 4.1, October 1992]

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 7**

Dreaming of the final showdown: a reply to Pallo Jordan and Blade Nzimande (J.Cronin) – disc.art. on political strategy (incl. negotiations) of ANC c.s., spec. about positions P. Jordan & B.Nzimande in debate [see DOK. 4.1, October 1992].

Date: 00-11-92 **Source: Focus on SA** **Page: 8**

We must pull SA from quagmire: int. ANC-pres. N.Mandela on the political situation in South Africa, negotiations, the South African economy ANC's campaign of mass action, etc. [Star]

Date: 31-10-92 **Source: South** **Page: 7**

Identity crisis in new Azania: ANC draft policy document on national symbols – flag, national anthem, public holidays, renaming of country, places, etc.

Date: 31-10-92 **Source: Focus on negotiation** **Page: 4-33**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on pol. developments/negotiations South Africa in Oct.1992, incl. on negotiations (p.4-8), positions government (p.9-17), ANC (p.18-28), SACP (p.29-33), trade unions, etc.

Date: 23-10-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 16**

Van saboteur tot onderhandelaar: int. ANC-leider/onderhandelaar Mac MAHARAJ over zijn rol in (de gewapende strijd van) het ANC sinds 1961, huidige positie, houding tov SACP, etc.

Date: 23-10-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1+4/5**

The names the ANC tried to hide (officials implicated in torture etc. in ANC-camps in exile) + Those who did it and those who knew (list of names) + The unsung 'heroes' of the camps (ANC-officials supportive of detainees) + The question remains: who killed Thami ZULU? + int. ANC-member Charles Thembekwayo on his torture in Angolan ANC-camp.

Date: 23-10-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 12**

'Cabal' document a 'fake': leading ANC-officials on "State of the Nation" document, allegedly from 'moderate group' in ANC (criticising N.Mandela and promoting C.Ramaphosa).

Date: 23-10-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 305/6+312**

Chapter not closed on ANC rights abuses: report ANC inquiry into maltreatment detainees in camps published, incl. main conclusions and recommendations (a.o. on further investigations) + ANC wins political advantage through detention camps report (political implications report, esp. reluctance government to act against human rights abuses by South African security forces).

Date: 19-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Statement by ANC-pres. N.Mandela on the report of the Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners and detainees (accepting responsibility for abuses), some sel. SAn newspaper art. on idem + ANC press statement on the Weekly Mail article on list of names (of ANC-officials responsible for maltreatment 'dissidents' in ANC-camps in exile).

Date: 16-10-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 298**

Winnie's former lover could be source of Cabal document (Dali Mporu possible source of so-called Cabal document, incl. inconsistencies and weaknesses of document).

Date: 16-10-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1+3**

To party or not? It will be costly for the ANC: financial problems ANC, esp. on position foreign donors + Who wrote ANC 'cabal document'? (reactions in ANC on doc.).

Date: 09-10-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 7**

Die blaf is veel erger as die byt: kritisch kommentaar op recente harde aanvallen van NP/regeringszijde op ANC en v.v.

Date: 09-10-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1/2**

Row over 'cabal bid to sideline Mandela': extensive quotations from controversial internal document in ANC, incl. questions over authenticity, reactions ANC officials, etc.

Date: 03-10-92 **Source: South** **Page: 10**

Hopes for peace in SA are rekindled: start series on voter education in conjunction with Matla Trust + profile (ANC-sponsored) Matla Trust, incl. its voter education programme.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 24/25**

Bringing the government closer to the people: on debate in and policies of ANC on regional (and local) government in a democratic South Africa.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 34/35**

Mobilising a wider constituency (disc.art. assessing ANC's mass action in August) + Combatting racism: an ongoing task (official Jews for Social Justice, on stereotypes and racism).

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 4/5**

'Thuislanden' nog een keer van nut: Zuid-Afrikaanse 'thuislanden' ten dode opgeschreven, maar spelen nog wel belangrijke rol in NP strategie om het ANC uit te schakelen.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 5.1** **Number of pages: 5**

ZA en de 'Leipzig optie': tussen de straat en de onderhandelingstafel – alg. overzicht I.van Kessel van politieke verhoudingen in Zuid-Afrika, posities regering, ANC, etc. tav onderhandelingen en geweld, rol politie-apparaat, sociaal-ekonomische problemen, etc. (noten) [Internationale Spectator]

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Page: 10-17**

Horizon, Vol.2, No.3 (ANC Youth League magazine; 36 p.): incl. art. on ANC's mass action campaign (p.10-12), the federalism debate (p.13/14), preparing for the elections (p.15-17), etc.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: Challenge, No.10 / DOK. 15.1** **Page: 2-17**

Challenge, No.10 (Institute for Contextual Theology): incl. art. on women priests in the Anglican Church in SA (p.2-5); int. Nelson MANDELA about his faith and attitude to religions in South Africa (p.6-7); statement August Emergency Conference of ICT on the present political crisis in South Africa(p.12-17).

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: Challenge, No.10 / DOK. 15.1** **Page: 26-28**

Challenge, No.10 (Institute for Contextual Theology): a.o. int. Carl NIEHAUS on the gap between black and white perceptions of mass action by the ANC c.s., incl. biogr. details.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 13**

Strategic debate in the ANC (P.Jordan): disc. paper on the political strategy of the ANC, i.c. critical assessment of 'Strategic perspective' document on negotiations policy ANC.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Let us take the people with us: a reply to Slovo (B.Nzimande) SACP disc.doc. on negotiations/political strategy ANC c.s., spec. critical to J.Slovo's art. 'The room for compromise'.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 7**

Negotiations, as presented by Joe Slovo (Harry Gwala): disc. art. on negotiations/political strategy ANC/SACP c.s., spec. critical to J.Slovo's art. 'The room for compromise'.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Campaign for Peace and Democracy rolls on: campaign paper ANC, COSATU & SACP alliance on demands campaign and Week of Action, 11-19 October 1992.

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: African Communist, 130** **Page: 14-25**

The Bisho march and massacre: an assessment (by SACP-leader R.Suttner); strategic and tactical assessment of march and massacre, against background of mass action campaign ANC-led alliance, political situation in Ciskei, role Ciskei and South African security forces, attacks on ANC and SACP, etc. (notes)

Date: 00-10-92 **Source: African Communist, 130** **Page: 41-54**

The boat, the tap and the Leipzig way: critical assessment by J.Cronin of some strategic assumptions in ANC, SACP etc. about how to conduct the liberation struggle in the post-February 1990 situation in South Africa (incl. negotiations) and some notes on a more adequate strategy towards a representative and participatory democracy. (notes)

Date: 30-09-92 **Source: Focus on Negotiation** **Page: 18-46**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on pol. developments/negotiations in South Africa in Sept. 1992, incl. on Codesa + positions government (p.9-17), ANC (p.18-26), SACP (p.27-31), trade unions (p.32-39), PAC and AZAPO (p.40-46), the homelands and the rightwing.

Date: 30-09-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Press statement NEC of ANC (after meeting on 30/9/92) about recent summit meeting with government, prospects for negotiations, further campaign of mass action, political violence South Africa, etc.

Date: 29-09-92 **Source: DOK. 5.1** **Number of pages: 36**

Report Goldstone Commission on the Bisho incident, 7/9/1992: purpose and organisation of march, reactions Ciskei authorities, events (shooting) during march, conduct Ciskei security forces + recommendations regarding demonstrations etc. in homelands and elsewhere, operation Ciskei Defence Force, responsibility for massacre, etc.

Date: 25-09-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 2

ANC leaders battle to hold back militants (who want to forge ahead with mass action in the homelands – esp. on situation in Natal).

Date: 18-09-92 Source: Southscan Page: 265+272

ANC raises mass action stakes despite 'moderate backlash' claims: announcement on next stage campaign and debate in ANC on its action and negotiations strategy.

Date: 18-09-92 Source: Southscan Page: 267

Aggressive ANC stance wins black support, according to poll: results Markinor-Gallup poll (May) shows rising support for ANC among black urban voters (+ figures on other parties).

Date: 18-09-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 4

No, the reds aren't steering; they're gearing down: assessment of the SACP's diminishing role within the ANC and its crucial future role (and other tensions within the ANC).

Date: 16-09-92 Source: DOK. 10.1A (kamerstukken) Number of pages: 3

Brief Min. van BuZa aan Tweede Kamer mbt recente ontwikkelingen in Zuid-Afrika (massa-akties ANC c.s., onderhandelingen, etc.) en de rol van de internationale gemeenschap (VN, EG) mbt het politieke geweld in Zuid-Afrika.

Date: 11-09-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 7

ANC finally resolves its no-Winnie situation: background to Winnie MANDELA's resignation from her posts in ANC and ANCWL incl. how ANC-leadership operated on her in recent months.

Date: 10-09-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 1

ANC press statement on Nomzamo Winnie MANDELA's resignations (from her positions in NEC and ANC Women's League).

Date: 04-09-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 4

We don't talk anymore until demands are met, says ANC: NEC adopts alliance document on strategy in near future – mass actions in relation to negotiations + ANC publishes draft Transition to Democracy Act (as constitutional framework for transitional period).

Date: 03-09-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 3

Statement of the NEC of the ANC (following NEC-meeting 31/8-2/9/92): mainly on mass action campaign ANC c.s. and continuous stalemate in negotiations with South African government.

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 12/13

Roll, mass action, roll! – assessment Campaign for Peace and Democracy, esp. various mass actions (general strike, demonstration, rallies, etc.) in 3-9 August week.

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 14/15

Keeping the tap open: int. R.Kasrils, head ANC's Campaign Section, on the present mass action campaign, esp. achievements Week of Action in August 1992.

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 16/17

Birds of a feather: media monopolies show their true colours (on the manipulative reporting by the South African press and esp. the SABC around the Week of Action in August 1992).

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Work in Progress, 84 Page: 7-11

Moving the masses: detailed review present positions and debate within ANC, SACP & COSATU(-unions) on strategy to mass action and negotiations, incl. position ANC Youth League.

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Work in Progress, 84 Page: 18-20

In search of a relevant strategy: J.Cronin reviews recent book by F. Van Zyl Slabbert (The Quest for Democracy: South Africa in transition) – a useful challenge to revolutionary strategy.

Date: 00-09-92 Source: Work in Progress, 84 Page: 38/39

Assessing socialist strategies: bookreview by Harold Wolpe of "Beyond apartheid and capitalism: conversations with South African socialists", ed. by A.Callinicos (Bookmarks; 1992; 171 p.)

Date: 00-09-92 **Source: SA Review of Books, no.22** **Page: 21/22**

Insiders outing: bookreviews (by L.Bernstein) of "Comrades against apartheid: the ANC and the SACP in exile" by S.Ellis & T.Sechaba (Indiana Un.Press/J.Currey, 1992) + "Between apartheid and capitalism: conversations with South African socialists" ed. by A.Callinicos (Bookmarks,London, 1992, 176 p.).

Date: 22-08-92 **Source: South** **Page: 9**

Call for 'one organisation, one strategy': paper SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin on the need for strategic unity in the ANC (alliance).

Date: 20-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC media statement on the strike in the metal industry (call on employers metal industry to urgently resume negotiations for settlement of national industry strike).

Date: 15-08-92 **Source: South** **Page: 7**

Mass action: we were ready to talk to ANC – int. R.Meyer, min. of constitutional development, on ANC's mass action campaign, government position on negotiations process, etc.

Date: 14-08-92 **Source: SA Barometer** **Page: 232**

Code of Conduct for mass protests: text code as agreed by ANC, COSATU and SACCOLA on 29/7/92 (for demonstrations etc. incl. on role organisers, security forces, government, etc.).

Date: 08-08-92 **Source: South** **Page: 1-3**

City standstill! ANC mounts monster show of strength: report mass action campaign/stay away ANC/SACP/COSATU-alliance in general and spec. marches etc. in and around Cape Town.

Date: 07-08-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 233+240**

Talks likely soon as ANC scores with strike and mass demonstrations (incl. figures on success stayaway in early August and impact of strong international pressure on Pretoria) + De Klerk responds to all ANC demands to open the way for early talks (esp. on demands in relation to political violence in South Africa).

Date: 07-08-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 5/6**

En nou vir die nuwe politiek: kommentaar op massa-aktie kampagne ANC nav hoogtepunt (nationale staking) afgelopen week + From violent mob to peaceful protest – in three easy tv broadcasts: why suddenly the press (esp. SABC) changed its reporting on the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

Date: 07-08-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 7+9**

Baie dood, maar min weens massa-aksie (slachtoffers pol. geweld afgelopen week niet tgv massa-aktie) + Stil broers, daar gaan 'n march verby: verslag massale ANC-demo in Pretoria.

Date: 05-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Address by ANC-pres. N.Mandela at Union Buildings, Pretoria: general on political situation South Africa, significance mass action campaign, ANC-demands for Interim Government, etc.

Date: 04-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Press statement ANC/COSATU/SACP on the second day of the general strike (report on mass participation in strike on 1st day and various incidents of violence).

Date: 04-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on misleading media reports (on disinformation by SABC about mass action campaign for peace and democracy ANC c.s.).

Date: 03-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Statement of the ANC/COSATU/SACP alliance on the stay away strike (general on background and objectives strike, incl. rejection of intimidation by security forces, employers, etc)

Date: 03-08-92 **Source: DOK. 1.2** **Number of pages: 4**

COSATU: figures on township stayaways (3/8/92) + violence monitoring report – 1.00 P.M. 3/8/92 (various incidents of police a.o. violence against strikers).

Date: 02-08-92 **Source: DOK. 15.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Church leaders call on De Klerk to avert "national disaster" (statement on political violence and mass action in South Africa, incl. text proposed 'code of conduct for mass protests').

Date: 01-08-92 **Source: South** **Page: 7**

Prayers and Sunday best for the ANC: report tour ANC-leaders through the Northern Cape – position ANC in Cape's rural areas.

Date: 00-08-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 7-10**

Millions act in unity: Campaign for Peace and Democracy – general on background, aims and content campaign as it develops in July 1992 + negotiations COSATU and SACCOLA on joint action around the national crisis.

Date: 00-08-92 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 3/4**

De evenwichtskunst van het ANC: algemeen over de huidige politieke situatie en vooruitzichten in Zuid-Afrika, inkl. de delikate positie van het ANC daarin.

Date: 00-08-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 74**

Report of the Commission of Enquiry into complaints by former ANC prisoners and detainees: full text report on conditions in detention, maltreatment etc. of "dissidents" in Quatro a.o. ANC-camps in exile, evaluation (context, justification and explanation) + recommendations.

Date: 00-08-92 **Source: Die Suidafrikaan** **Page: 30-36**

Wegwysers na 'n tuiste in eie taal: review and importance of national language debate in South Africa, incl. standpoints NP, ANC and various initiatives on this problem (National Language Project, NECC, Demokratiese Taalraad, Stigting vir Afrikaans and others) pointing to ethnic, educational and other implications.

Date: 31-07-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 2/3**

Build-up to next week's stayaway: 'Black referendum' tests the ANC (positions COSATU, ANC a.o. on stayaway and possible implications for negotiations process) + Business prepares to ride out the storm + Churchmen urge government to break the deadlock in negotiations (incl. churches' code for mass action).

Date: 31-07-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 4**

Unionist's execution shatters fragile Vaal triangle peace accord (between warring factions of ANC and NUMSA-members) – report killing M.Thostho, allegedly by renegade MK-members.

Date: 31-07-92 **Source: New Nation** **Page: 11/12**

The time has come to strike! – int. COSATU gen.secr. J. Naidoo on its preparations for national strike next week and assessment mass action campaign ANC-alliance up till now,

Date: 29-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on allegations of Nuerenberg-style trials (ANC-position on the need for reconciliation and the future prosecution of security force members for crimes).

Date: 29-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on Nationalist Party Olympic advertisements (rejecting NP-call for "cessation of hostilities" in South Africa during the Olympics).

Date: 28-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on business threats of dismissal (against workers participating in national strike ANC c.s. in August 1992).

Date: 24-07-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 6/7**

Vance gets to hear it all...again: UN special envoy C.Vance talks to government, ANC etc. on political violence and negotiations + positions COSATU and employers organisation on forthcoming national stayaway, ANC-led alliance announces mass action plans for next week and 1000 people arrested during marches etc. last week.

Date: 24-07-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 218**

'Peace and democracy' campaign gathers own momentum: development mass action campaign ANC c.s., incl. preparations for national strike/action week early August.

Date: 23-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Statement ANC, COSATU and SACP on the campaign for peace and democracy: announcement campaign, programme first week of August, general goals campaign etc.

Date: 20-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 16**

Letter Video News Services, J'burg on ANC documentary history project + letters of recommendation ANC and memorandum on documentary film: A history of the ANC (synopsis,budget, etc)

Date: 18-07-92 **Source: South** **Page: 1-3**

Mass action: yes or no? (statements by various leaders) + ANC action rolls into NP office (occupation NP-office Cape Town by ANC Youth League).

Date: 17-07-92 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 211**

Unions use August general strike to persuade business off the fence: pressure ANC-alliance (esp. COSATU) on employers around general strike and political logjam in general, incl. position employers(organisations) on industrial actions (for political purposes).

Date: 17-07-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 9+11**

Endangered: the united, non-racial SA – int. ANC/SACP-leader Chris Hani on political situation and negotiations process in South Africa, mass action strategy ANC c.s. (national strike), etc.

Date: 15-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Statement ANC-president Nelson Mandela at the UN Security Council in New York: general on ANC-position with regard to political violence in South Africa, negotiations process and role UN.

Date: 14-07-92 **Source: DOK. 5.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Press release Chairman Goldstone Commission with recommendations to SAP and ANC/COSATU on how to deal with mass actions (demonstrations etc.).

Date: 10-07-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 2**

Mandela puts the ball in FWs court: memorandum ANC rejecting government position on resumption of negotiations + Intense debate with ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance over meaning and purpose of mass action campaign (esp. paper J.Cronin, SACP, on various strategic approaches).

Date: 10-07-92 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 7**

Report on tense situation in Free State town of Kroonstad, esp. charging of local ANC-leader Dennis Bloem with killing of notorious gang leader in February 1992.

Date: 10-07-92 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 5/6**

The leaks in the logic of the leaked documents: critical report on why several newspapers (Weekly Mail, Sowetan a.o.) recently published so-called confidential documents from the ANC/SACP/COSATU-alliance about the (negotiation) strategies of ANC c.s.

Date: 04-07-92 **Source: South** **Page: 2/3**

Cosatu gets tough over demand for peace (report Cosatu-conf. on mass action campaign) + Mid-city street battle: report on police shooting on ANC/SACP/COSATU-march in Cape Town.

Date: 04-07-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Het ANC vertrouwt De Klerk niet meer: int. ANC-woordvoerder Carl NIEHAUS over stellingname van ANC tov (onderhandelingen met) Zuid-Afrikaanse regering, inkl. pers. gegevens Niehaus. (V.N.)

Date: 03-07-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 2/3

Watch out FW, the crunch is coming: increasing international pressure on South Africa (role Commonwealth, OAU etc.), police shoots at marchers in Cape Town + ANC reveals plans for mass action

Date: 03-07-92 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 5

A winning solution: position ANC on international sports boycott wins support from sports organisations in South Africa.

Date: 03-07-92 Source: Southscan Page: 193/194

Mass action drive thwarts De Klerk bid to divide 'militant' from 'moderate': effect Boipatong massacre on government (position towards ANC) and on ANC (debate on strategic objective mass action campaign) + range of strikes etc. in various (industrial sectors) fuelling militancy in union ranks.

Date: 00-07-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 7-10

Springbok in a Thunderstorm: exposure of secret NP plan of destabilisation two-pronged operation (Thunderstorm+Springbok) aimed at maintaining NP-position and destabilising ANC during transition period, incl. secret efforts by security forces to stimulate (idea of) "black-on-black" violence.
NB: see also DOK. 4.1 [22/6/1992].

Date: 00-07-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 11-13

Mass action for democracy and good government: background to ANC's mass action campaign from June 16 (deadlock Codesa, violence etc.), programme of action for campaign, etc.

Date: 00-07-92 Source: Mayibuye Page: 22

Drought crisis is looming: position ANC Land Commission on (limited) measures the government has taken (effects of) drought crisis (esp. in rural areas).

Date: 00-07-92 Source: Work in Progress, 83 Page: 7-9

Fighting the violence: mass action or mass struggle? – why the ANC finally called for mass action, the relation to its negotiation strategy, the crucial need for control over the security forces and can the ANC sustain mass struggle?

Date: 00-07-92 Source: DOK. 2.2 Number of pages: 11

Commemorative brochure Mazimbu & Dakawa 1977-1992 (ANC; on occasion of handing over to Tanzania, July '92): summarised development and significance Mazimbu/Dakawa (SOMAFCO).

Date: 26-06-92 Source: Facts and Reports Page: 2

[M4] Few surprises in ANC policy decisions: report ANC policy conference, esp. positions on economic policy, government structures, local government, land issue, etc. (SA Report)

Date: 23-06-92 Source: DOK. 16 Number of pages: 4

Call for SA Olympic ban: demand rising for tighter sanctions after massacre (in Boipatong) + background on political violence in South Africa, negotiations + economic situation and prospects etc., incl. position ANC on these issues. [Guardian, Independent].

Date: 17-06-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 1

ANC press statement on mass action: mainly on rallies etc. on June 16, 1992.

Date: 16-06-92 Source: DOK. 20.1 Number of pages: 29

Beknopt cv Jan VAN ECK + sel. art. uit Zase pers over en met standpunten van J.v.Eck mbt zijn politieke carrière in DP, keus voor het ANC, geweld en rol politie Zuid-Afrika, etc. sinds '89.

Date: 15-06-92 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 1

ANC media statement: call for an end to trials by media (of Hein GROSSKOPF, in relation to MK-actions in 1987 and 1988).

Date: 05-06-92 Source: DOK. 20.1 Number of pages: 5

Press statement ANC Western Cape on the eviction of Jan van Eck from parliament + sel. SAn newspaper art. 2-6/6/92 on idem. [Weekend Argus, Star]

Date: 03-06-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC verzet zich tegen komst van Jeltsin: positie ANC mbt relaties ZA-Rusland + standpunten politieke konferentie ANC mbt onderhandelingen, massa-aktie en m.n. economisch beleid. [Fin.Dagblad]

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 14/15**

SACP 'staliniseerde' het ANC in ballingschap: samenvatting Amandla-lezing door Dr. Stephen Ellis over de historische overheersing van het ANC door de SACP, inkl. (huidige) rol van het veiligheidsapparaat binnen het ANC.

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 11/12**

Two steps to freedom: Programme of the Tripartite Alliance – programma of action adopted by ANC, SACP and COSATU 13/5/92 (on pol.violence, mass action, preparing for elections, etc.)

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 13-16**

What the future holds for us: review main issues at stake at ANC Policy Conference at the end of May '92 (constitutional affairs, economic policy, local government, education, environment, etc., incl. preparations for conference).

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 18-20**

No other choice: int. ex-DP MP Jan VAN ECK on his move from DP to ANC, relation DP-ANC, his position in parliament and various policy issues in (relation to) the ANC.

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36-38**

A grassroots ANC: disc.article on the need for a active policy by ANC branches on local issues, civics etc. + idem on lack of democratic practices in ANC branches (esp. Thembisa)

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 45**

Ready to govern: ANC Policy Guidelines for a democratic South Africa – adopted at the National Conference, 28-31 May 1992 (sections on a democratic constitution, economic and land policy, environment, housing, health, social welfare, education, development, media, arts and culture, sport, peace and security, youth and international relations).

Date: 00-06-92 **Source: Work in Progress, 82** **Page: 14-17**

What happened in the ANC camps? – detailed report on maltreatment of 'dissidents' by ANC security in exile (mainly based on "Comrades against apartheid" by S.Ellis/T.Sechaba), incl. possible implications for ANC in (near) future + summarised report on mutinies in ANC-camps in Angola in Jan. to June 1984.

Date: 28-05-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 26**

Address by pres, N.Mandela at ANC National Policy Conference about ANC position on negotiations process, political violence and ANC policy (guidelines) in general.

Date: 26-05-92 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 7**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. 24-26/5/92 on Winnie MANDELA: loss of Women's League support, allegations of fraud, affair with Dali Mpofu, position in ANC, etc. [Citizen, Star, S.Times]

Date: 25-05-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press release about various media allegations against Winnie MANDELA (on misuse of funds).

Date: 20-05-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 5**

Address ANC president N.Mandela to the Institute of Foreign Policy, Sweden: general about ANC-position on negotiations/ transformation process, obstacles by government, political violence, etc

Date: 16-05-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 5**

Intervention of ANC-pres. N.Mandela at the second session of CODESA: ANC-position on negotiations/transformation process and (elections for) a constitution making body, etc.

Date: 12-05-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on the Atatürk Award given to ANC-pres. N.Mandela by the government of Turkey (not accepted by Mandela).

Date: 00-05-92 **Source: Southern Africa Report** **Page: 4-8**

The referendum and after: an interview with Dan O'Meara (on the significance of the all-white referendum in March '93, its impact on the negotiations process, position of the democratic movement (esp. ANC) in South Africa, etc.

Date: 30-04-92 **Source: Focus on negotiation** **Page: 1-29**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on the political developments, esp. negotiations process, South Africa in April 1992, incl. Codesa (p.4-12) + position/policies of the government (p.13-20), ANC (p.21-29), etc

Date: 27-04-92 **Source: DOK. 7.4** **Page: 79-91**

Conference documents "Post-apartheid regional cooperation" (Gaborone, 27-29/4/92; 126 p.); a.o. section B: South Africa, incl. World economic forum, 2/2/92, statements ANC-pres. Mandela and pres. De Klerk (p.B21-25) + statements Internat. Commission of Jurists (April '92) and Amnesty International (Jan. '92) on political violence in South Africa (p.B26-33).

Date: 24-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 5**

Statement ANC-pres. N.Mandela on the occasion of his installation as the Chancellor of the University of the North (a.o. on educational crisis and struggle in South Africa, incl. ANC-position).

Date: 24-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press statement on allegations of misuse of funds (in the Sowetan).

Date: 22-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Press conference five DP members who joined the ANC (J. van Eck a.o.), stating their position in relation to the Democratic Party and their arguments for joining the ANC.

Date: 13-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Statement by ANC-president Nelson MANDELA on the relationship with his wife, Winnie MANDELA (announcing their separation).

Date: 08-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

Press statement by the National Working Committee of the ANC on the trial by media of Winnie Mandela.

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 13/14**

ANC organisers set priorities: report National Organisers' Workshop in February '92 (on building the ANC and the alliance and preparing for the elections).

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 34/35**

Struggle now, compromise later: discussion art. by ANC-official from Western Cape on ANC's negotiations strategy (and the need for mass action).

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: BIB. 11.1/3/4-76** **Page: 44-101**

SOUTH AFRICAN REVIEW 6: from 'Red Friday' to CODESA – Ed. by G.Moss/I.Obery (Ravan Press; 508 p.); a.o. The ANC in the 1990s – a story of mixed achievements (T.Lodge; p.44-78); SACP strategy since 1990 (P.Laurence; p.79-94) + Azapo and the PAC: Revolutionary watchdogs? (K.M.Nyatumba; p.95-101). Notes.

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: African Communist, 129** **Page: 33-44**

Working class civil society: why we need it, and how we get it – M.Mayekiso, org.secr. ACO, on the need for a working class analysis of the role and nature of civil society (both in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa; on role ANC, civics etc. in struggle for democracy and socialism in South Africa). (References)

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: (105)**

Changing SA, Challenge for Europe: conf. report, 24/1/1992: report conference day on Dutch policy towards South Africa, incl. general introductions by a.o. J.Naidoo (COSATU), F.Ginwala (ANC), M.Monteiro (HIVOS) and S.Bosgra (KZA).

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 11**

Organising for elections and for government: ANC Political Education Discussion Paper No.5 explaining elections by proportional representation system and relation between the election and government.

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: Work in Progress, 81 Page: 35/36**

What happened in exile? – bookreview J.Cronin of "Comrades against apartheid: the ANC and the SACP in exile" by S.Ellis & T.Sechaba (J.Currey; 1992).

Date: 00-04-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 48**

Organise for freedom: an ANC political education manual for organisers, educators and study circles – on ANC policies, negotiations and elections, the ANC branch, alliances, etc.

Date: 31-03-92 **Source: Focus on Negotiation** **Page: 1-27**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on pol. developments/negotiations in South Africa in March '92, incl. on Codesa and positions of the government (p.12-19), ANC (p.20-27), SACP (p.28-32), etc.

Date: 19-03-92 **Source: DOK. 10.1A (overige)** **Number of pages: 15**

Geselekteerde Nederlandse & ZAsse krantenartikelen e.a. stukken over voorgenomen bezoek Lubbers c.s. aan Zuid-Afrika, 5/3-19/3/92 inkl. stellingname AABN, ANC, Nederlandse regering, etc.

Date: 18-03-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Statement of the ANC on the results of the Referendum: rejecting "whites only" referendum, but welcoming result as endorsement of negotiation process in South Africa.

Date: 18-03-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 10**

ANC responses to 1992/3 budget speech (summary ANC-position) + ANC 1992/1993 budget review: the last apartheid budget – comment on the budgetary process and planning framework, review ANC-priorities for social spending this year (social welfare/poverty relief, health expenditure, education expenditure and housing) + financing of additional expenditure.

Date: 07-03-92 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 2**

NP en ANC zijn langdurig tot elkaar veroordeeld: gedaanteverwisselingen NP en ANC van resp. onbetwistbare machthebber en bevrijdingsbeweging tot politieke partijen (W.Bossema). [Volkskrant]

Date: 03-03-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

Mandela is te vaag over democratie: kritisch commentaar SAPA korresp. A.Oosthuysen-Stuijt over democratie-opvattingen ANC en "niet-representatief" karakter Codesa. [Volkskrant]

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36/37**

Organisation: the key to democracy – sketches scenario of a typical ANC branch meeting (as part of series on democracy in the ANC).

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 38/39**

Charting the new terrain: discussion art. (by Finance Week editor) on the need for a fundamentally new ANC strategy in running the country – together with the NP).

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 156**

SUDAFRIKA – DER WEG AUS APARTHEID (Weltgeschehen, 1/92): overzicht ontwikkelingen ZA onder pres. Botha (80er jaren, inkl. sankties VS, EG en spec. Duitsland; p.12-47) + onder pres. De Klerk (1989-1992, inkl. onderhandelingen, politiek geweld, rol ANC, etc.; p.48-136) + enkele politieke documenten uit 1991.

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: UN CaA, Notes & Doc. 5/92** **Number of pages: 17**

21 March 1992: Observance of Internat. Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination – UN reiterates support for non-racial and constitutional democracy in South Africa (excerpts from statements at UN meeting in New York by UN-officials and representatives of ANC (p.8-11) and PAC (p.12-15).

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Should white democrats vote in the referendum?: ANC Political Education Discussuin Paper No.4 – general assessment political significance of white referendum (in relations to transformation process).

Date: 00-03-92 **Source: BIB. 11.1/3-101** **Page: 61-101**

THE FREEDOM CHARTER AND BEYOND: founding priciples for a democratic South African legal order – Ed. N.Steytler (CLC-UWC/Wyvern; 296 p.); series of 15 art. a.o. on the political role of the Freedom Charter (from 1950s until now, esp. for the ANC; p.61-83) + the development of constitutional ideas and debate about democracy in South Africa (p.84-101). Notes & references.

Date: 29-02-92 **Source: Focus on negotiation** **Page: 1-27**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on the political developments, esp. negotiations process, in SA in January/February 1992, incl. on Codesa (p.4-11) + position/policies of the government (p.12-19) + ANC (p.20-27), etc.

Date: 20-02-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

Response of ANC, COSATU and SACP to the proposed white referendum (rejecting notion of racial and ethnic referendum as announced by De Klerk).

Date: 13-02-92 **Source: DOK. 10.1A (overige)** **Number of pages: 50**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. a.o. documents on proposed visit Dutch PM Lubbers c.s. to South Africa, 4/1-13/2/92, incl. positions of AABN, ANC, COSATU, CNV, FNV, Dutch government, RvK Ned., SACC a.o.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Anti Apartheids Krant** **Page: 5**

Portret van een duif: int. Zolile MAGUGU, ANC-vertegenwoordiger in Nederland, over zijn eigen (politieke) achtergronden, ANC-werkzaamheden in ballingschap en zijn visie op de bevrijdingsstrijd van het ANC, het huidige onderhandelingsproces, etc.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Anti Apartheids Krant** **Page: 6/7**

Omvoorwaardelijke solidariteit: verleden tijd – AAK-eindred. B.Luirink over de huidige situatie in/van het 80-jarige ANC, mn de steeds duidelijker wordende meningenstrijd binnen de organisatie, inkl. de consequenties daarvan voor de anti-apartheidsgroeperingen.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 7-10**

The process is firmly in our grasp: int. N.Mandela on the current political situation in South Africa and ANC's position in the negotiations process (Codesa), the Patriotic Front, etc.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 30/31**

Organising the masses: discussion art. on the need for the ANC to establish consultative structures and to develop an active policy on local/regional issues.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36/37**

Democracy demands participation: a look at some of the problems that hinder participation by ANC members at branch level.

Date: 00-02-92 **Source: Policy: Issues and Actors, Vol.5, No.1** **Page: 1-20**

Room for compromise: The African National Congress and transitional mechanisms (Johannes Rantete, CPS) – examination of ANC's transitional demands (history and strategic purpose), esp. on an interim government and constituent assembly, incl. debate within ANC over demands, possible compromises, etc. (notes)

Date: 31-01-92 **Source: DOK. 10.1A (overige)** **Number of pages: 2**

ZA in de Nederlandse kinderkamer: kommentaar J.A.A. v. Doorn op discussie over voorgenomen staatsbezoek aan Zuid-Afrika, inkl. kritiek op positie ANC en verdediging De Klerk. [HP]

Date: 29-01-92 **Source: DOK. 10.1A (overige)** **Number of pages: 10**

"Lubbers stelt bezoek aan ZA uit" e.a. (geselekt.) artikelen uit Nederlandse pers 14-29/1/92 over gepland staatsbezoek aan Zuid-Afrika, inkl. politieke verwickelingen, standpunt ANC en Buthelezi, mogelijk gevolgen voor Nederlandse bedrijfsleven in Zuid-Afrika, etc. [Volkskrant, NRC, Trouw, Telegraaf, Fin.Dagblad]

Date: 24-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC press statement on the response to president De Klerk's opening address to parliament (critical of government position on various issues + ANC-pos. on principle of self-determination)

Date: 24-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Speech by ANC dep.pres. W.Sisulu at People's Parliament rally in Cape Town: general political situation South Africa and esp. on need for real democracy, new constitution, etc.

Date: 23-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press release: Nelson Mandela's statement on the Lockerbie disaster (legal persecution of international terrorism suspects).

Date: 22-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC press release on mass action against opening of parliament, 24/1/92 (general on position ANC in present political situation South Africa).

Date: 12-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

ANC at 80: back to its roots with a white ash – general on ANC's 80th anniversary celebration in Bloemfontein and its historical record. [S.Times]

Date: 09-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC viert lange, hete verjaarspartij: algemeen over historische en huidige rol en positie ANC (P.ter Horst). [NRC]

Date: 08-01-92 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 14**

Statement NEC on the occasion of the 80th anniversary of the ANC: incl. sections on history ANC and present position/strategy on political violence, alliance policies, negotiations, etc.

Date: 00-01-92 **Source: BIB. 4.1-31** **Number of pages: 214**

COMRADES AGAINST APARTHEID: The ANC & the SACP in exile – S.Ellis/T.Sechaba (J.Currey/Indiana Un. Press); history of the SACP from 1921 and its relation to/domination over the ANC between 1960 and 1990, against background of political developments in South(ern) Africa in this period. Index.

Date: 29-12-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 6**

Why Mandela won't buy the Nat plan: interview A.Sparks with Nelson Mandela on government proposals for Interim Government, position Buthelezi/Inkatha, allaying white fears in constitutional negotiations, the role of the extreme right, etc. [S.Star]

Date: 24-12-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Geen plaats voor wraak in de toekomst van ZA: int. ANC-woordvoerder Carl NIEHAUS over zijn keuze voor het ANC, deelname aan de gewapende strijd, arrestatie en gevangenschap, etc.

Date: 19-12-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 5/6**

At the point of no return: general review political developments in South Africa in 1991 (negotiations, political violence, etc.), incl. positions government, ANC, etc.

Date: 12-12-91 **Source: South** **Page: 5**

Make farmers pay all debts, says ANC: report ANC-conference on position ANC and developments problems in rural areas South Africa (land reform etc.).

Date: 00-12-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 14-17**

Organising in the Indian communities (part 1): review ANC approach/activities towards the Indian community, incl. problems involved, role NIC and TIC etc. + historical background on (political organisation among) the Indian community in South Africa.

Date: 00-12-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36/37**

Leadership, mandates and criticism (discussion art. on democracy, part 2): esp. on democratic nature of ANC (role leadership and members, accountability, self-criticism, etc.).

Date: 28-11-91 **Source: South** **Page: 5**

WCC shifts funding from ANC and PAC (funding WCC Programme to Combat Racism moves towards struggle against racism elsewhere in the world, incl. critical comment ANC-official).

Date: 22-11-91 **Source: SA Barometer** **Page: 362-367**

Opinion polls of support for political parties and leaders: review results various polls April 1990 – July 1991, showing positions (leaders of) ANC, UDF, PAC, NP, Inkatha, SACP, etc.

Date: 01-11-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC Southern OFS Region"s Press Statement on Secretariat Report for regional ANC conference (on political development and role/position ANC in area in past year).

Date: 00-11-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 12-15**

Trekking into the ANC: int. with some Afrikaners who recently joined the ANC – their motives, problems because of membership, etc. incl. Rev. Beyers NAUDE.

Date: 00-11-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 19**

Regional conference reports: summarised reports regional ANC conferences in Border area, Transkei, PWV and Western Cape.

Date: 00-11-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36/37**

Democracy (disc.art., part 1): general on what the ANC means with democracy (in relation to the constitution, political system, civil society, the economy, etc.).

Date: 00-11-91 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 9**

De nieuwe man van het ANC in Nederland: int. Zolile MAGUGU, ANC-vert. sinds okt. 1991 (mn over zijn studie en ANC-werk in ballingschap).

Date: 31-10-91 **Source: Focus on negotiation** **Page: 12-35**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on negotiations process in South Africa in October 1991, incl. positions of the government/NP (p.4-11), ANC (p.12-19), SACP (p.20-27), the right wing (CP a.o.; p.28-35), etc.

Date: 11-10-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 315**

Sharp criticism of internal organisation in ANC's largest region: report ANC-conference in PWV-region, esp. on political and organisational problems ANC in area.

Date: 04-10-91 **Source: Facts and Reports** **Page: 5**

[T15] Winnie MANDELA continues to head ANC's welfare department, incl. background on this decision. [SA Report, 13/9/91]

Date: 04-10-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 305+312**

New Cape ANC leadership hopes to stem spread of 'taxi war' violence: results leadership elections Western Cape region ANC (A.Boesak a.o.) and some problems for ANC in area.

Date: 00-10-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 6**

Congress man: profile/interview ANC-spokesman Carl NIEHAUS – on his early involvement in ANC/MK, imprisonment 1983-1990, various present ANC-policies, ANC-SACP alliance etc. [Living]

Date: 00-10-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 16-18**

Mass action: where have the masses gone? (ANC member calls for recapturing mass approach) + Mangope's recipe for power (mass action against repression in Bophuthatswana).

Date: 00-10-91 **Source: The African Communist, 126** **Page: 6-9**

Are you anti-communist? Interview with Dr. Allan Boesak about his views on the SACP (and alliance with ANC), the armed struggle and his role in ANC/among coloured community.

Date: 30-09-91 **Source: Focus on negotiation** **Page: 4-19**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on negotiations process in South Africa in September 1991, incl. positions of the government/NP (p.4-11), ANC (p.12-19), homelands/Inkatha (p.20-27), the right wing (CP,AWB;p.28-35).

Date: 21-09-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Dominee Alan Boesak: van Calvijn moet ik in de politiek – vraaggesprek met Alan BOESAK m.n. over zijn positie (als dominee) in het ANC, geweld, ANC-SACP, etc. [Vrij Nederland]

Date: 17-09-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC elects Border executive + profile Border ANC president Silumko SOKUPA. [Daily Dispatch]

Date: 13-09-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 6**

'Reshuffling' in ANC raises serious leadership questions: background to 'reinstatement' Winnie Mandela as head of Welfare Dept and Jacob Zuma as member of ANC negotiation team.

Date: 08-09-91 **Source: DOK. 2.2** **Number of pages: 22**

Report SASCO congress (merger SANSCO/NUSAS), 5-8 Sept. 1991: a.o. address Mac Maharaj (ANC) – general on political situation in South Africa and ANC-strategies in current negotiations process.

Date: 00-09-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 16/17**

Mass action: lessons from the recent PWV consumer boycott (against political violence, Inkathagate, etc.) + The public vetoes VAT (review major objections ANC a.o. against introduction VAT).

Date: 00-09-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 36-38**

The struggle to be holier than thou? – opinion art. H.Grosskopf & S.vd Merwe on "national reconciliation", the (moral responsibility for the) legacy of apartheid, etc.; incl. positions of the government and ANC on these issues.

Date: 00-09-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 77** **Page: 4/5**

Merebank community fights dangerous industries (struggle by Durban Indian township against polluting local industries) + PWV consumer boycott (by ANC a.o.) flops miserably.

Date: 00-09-91 **Source: Anti Apartheids Krant** **Page: 1**

Nieuw ANC-bestuur zat minstens 348 jaar gevangen: overzicht hoe lang alle leden van het onlangs gekozen ANC-bestuur in de gevangenis hebben gezeten.

Date: 00-09-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 7**

ANC: National liberation movement or political party? (ANC Dept. of Pol. Education Disc.paper) – why ANC is (still) a national liberation movement, the need for unity, broadness and a mass base + why and how to contest elections.

Date: 29-08-91 **Source: South** **Page: 7**

Oiling the wheels of ANC machinery: review restructured ANC organisation + impressions by M.Badela of situation at ANC Headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg.

Date: 16-08-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 270/271**

New team takes a grip on ANC's meandering structures: reorganisation ANC and task-allocation NWC-members completed, incl. list (heads of) political, service and policy departments.

Date: 11-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 7**

Resolutions and recommendations from conference of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Venda, 9-11/8/1991: report commission on future security forces in South Africa, adopted resolution on MK (general), resolution relating

to political work within the SADF and related security forces, resolution on welfare + statement MK on its conference (summarising key resolutions).

Date: 11-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Resolutions and recommendations from conference of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Venda, 9-11/8/1991: report welfare commission on role ANC Social Welfare Dept in general and spec. for MK.

Date: 11-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 15**

Address President Nelson Mandela to conference of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Venda, 9-11/8/1991: general on historic role MK, ANC strategy since 1960s and in current phase, international support for the armed struggle etc. + selected list of MK militants who died in period 1964-1987.

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: Africa South** **Page: 8-13**

The ANC pulls together: general report and assessment by A. Sparks of ANC national conference in Durban (incl. short profiles of some of the newly elected NEC-members).

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 6-8**

Beyond the ANC conference: basic assumptions for the ANC strategy in the current phase of the transition (negotiation) process in South Africa, incl. its Programme of Action.

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 9-12**

Daunting challenges: collective strength – int. new ANC Sec Gen. Cyril Ramaphosa on the main tasks ahead for the ANC (leadership), democracy in the ANC, the role of the NWC, the alliance with the SACP, etc.

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 13/14**

Mass action: main points ANC's Programme of Action + review local consumer boycotts by ANC a.o. (mostly on local issues)

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 18-26**

ANC National Conference in focus: general report, incl. decisions on a policy conference, MK, rural areas/bantustans, building the ANC, ANC constitution, liberation movement or political party, etc. + text final Declaration (6/7/91) and lists elected and ex-officio NEC-members (from regions and Youth & Women's League – p.24/25).

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 29**

Liberation movement and beyond: Challenges for the ANC (Y. Carrim; Insight, CIIR) – implications of the unbanning for the ANC and the development from a liberation movement to a political party, incl. impact of political violence in South Africa, negotiations strategy, organisational problems, the challenge of democracy, position of the exiles, etc. (notes)

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.3** **Number of pages: 12**

Active Voice, No.21 (English Literacy Project): basic information on ANC call for Interim Government, COSATU and the struggle against VAT, ANC conference in Durban, SAN Women's Day, etc.

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: DOK. 10.2B** **Number of pages: 8**

Weerwerk, jrg 3, nr.3 (donateursblad KZA): overzicht akt. Bevrijdingsfonds – steun aan ANC, overzicht diverse projecten in Zuid(elijk) Afrika, steun aan en rol van civics, etc.

Date: 00-08-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 5**

Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe – 1991 (for MK conference in Venda, 9-11/8/91): historical role MK, current role MK in negotiations phase and future role MK in a democratic South Africa.

Date: 26-07-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1-5**

Behind the secret funds scandal: series of art. on secret government funding of esp. UWUSA and Inkatha, incl. collaboration SAP with both organisations in the Natal violence, responsible Inkatha officials in problems, etc. + political implications scandal for both government and ANC.

Date: 26-07-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 247**

Core working committee unites internal and external leaders: composition of (elected) National Working Committee of ANC, incl. list of all 26 NWC-members.

Date: 19-07-91 **Source: SA Barometer** **Page: 212-218**

ANC National Conference: text conference resolutions on tactics & strategy, violence and foreign policy + List members new ANC National Executive Committee (incl.voting-numbers/%)

Date: 19-07-91 **Source: Financial Mail** **Page: 22/23**

Cyril sets the tone: int. ANC secr.general Cyril RAMAPHOSA on his record in the trade unions (NUM), position and role in ANC, his economic policies, etc.

Date: 19-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC 'cabinet': results election for ANC's National Working Committee, incl. number of votes cast for 20 elected members [Cape Times]

Date: 18-07-91 **Source: South** **Page: 3**

Boesak sings for ANC under glare of television spotlights (incl. motives Allan BOESAK for joining the ANC).

Date: 13-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

Big sweat over ANC foreign funds: financial problems ANC because of government's refusal to cooperate in bringing its foreign funds back to South Africa. [Star]

Date: 12-07-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 229+236**

ANC emerges with new view of De Klerk: general on results ANC conference and spec. on implications for its position towards (negotiations with) the government.

Date: 12-07-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 234/235**

ANC conference resolutions, July 1991: excerpts resolutions on strategy & tactics, MK, violence, negotiations + foreign policy (incl. sanctions) + ANC top 50 (names and % votes).

Date: 12-07-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 17**

End of era when weaknesses were strengths: general assessment results ANC conference in Durban (incl. relative poor showing of trade unionists in ANC-leadership).

Date: 12-07-91 **Source: New Nation (+ Suppl)** **Page: 6/7 (+4)**

Build a fighting force: general report and evaluation of ANC national conference – organisational issues (membership, leadership, mass campaigns, etc.), main political decisions taken (incl. on MK) + text declaration and adopted resolutions on strategy and tactics, violence, negotiations, building the ANC and foreign policy (incl. sanctions).

Date: 12-07-91 **Source: Financial Mail** **Page: 22+24+38**

The new-look ANC: not quite born again – general report ANC national conf. in Durban, incl. need to clarify its economic policies and position ANC/COSATU c.s. on sanctions-issue.

Date: 08-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Sel. art. from "The Gurdian", 6+8/7/91 on sanctions decision ANC-congress (economic, cultural and sports) + ANC-leadership election – general and spec. C.Ramaphosa as secr.general.

Date: 08-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 65**

Sel. SAn newspaper art. on ANC National Conference in Durban July 1991 (16/6-8/7/91): general reports, comments, etc. and articles about leadership elections, negotiations policy, sanctions, women in ANC, armed struggle, constitution, ANC-SACP, exiles, economic and land policy, education, Interim Government, etc. + information on position various ANC-leaders.

Date: 08-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC set on pragmatic new course: sel. British newspapers on ANC National Conf. in Durban, July 1991 (transformation from revolutionary movement to political party). [Independent/Observer]

Date: 07-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Conference '91 News (DIP): general report on ANC National Conference in Durban, July 1991, incl. art. on speeches Mandela and Tambo, summaries commission reports, election of office bearers by delegates, women's (representation) debate, photo gallery, personal impressions, etc.

Date: 06-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 5**

Ballot count of elections for ANC National Executive Committee + full lists of candidates for elections (during ANC National Conference in Durban, July 1991).

Date: 05-07-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 221+228**

Conference signals successful re-grouping by ANC for negotiations: opening day ANC conference, esp. on ANC's position towards (negotiations with) the government, incl. results opinion poll in urban areas showing mass support for ANC.

Date: 05-07-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1 + 4/5**

Full speed for talks: clear signal from ANC conference that getting talks moving is top priority + report on opening days conference, incl. on negotiations strategy, position of women in ANC (compromise over quota of women in NEC), position Umkhonto we Sizwe (statements MK-militants), etc.

Date: 05-07-91 **Source: New Nation** **Page: 1 + 6/7**

ANC gets tough: report opening day ANC conference in Durban + text/extract statements pres. O.Tambo and dep.pres. N.Mandela to the conference (general on history and policies ANC).

Date: 05-07-91 **Source: Vrye Weekblad** **Page: 4/5**

ANC-konferensie in Durban: 'n stryd om die hart van die ANC – m.n. over posisie kommuniste in ANC en alliantie ANC-SACP inkl. reaksie J.Cronin op kritiek van VW op SACP.

Date: 05-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

ANC-pamphlets on the burial of cde M. Daniel Mabula by ANC Northern Transvaal Regional Office and Tladi Branch.

Date: 04-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.3 / DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 16**

New African: esp. on ANC-conference in Durban (incl. texts opening addresses pres. Tambo and N.Mandela) + Int.1988 coup leader R.Malebane Metsing on political situation in Bophuthatswana (p.2).

Date: 02-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 15**

Statement of the Deputy-President of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela at the opening of the ANC National Conference in Durban, 1-7/7/1991 (full text).

Date: 01-07-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 15**

Statement of the President of the African National Congress comrade Oliver R.Tambo to the ANC National Conference in Durban, 1/7/1991 (full text).

Date: 00-07-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 6-8**

ANC conference: the main challenges – general review of both immediate and long-term issues to be dealt with at conference in Durban, July 1991.

Date: 00-07-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 12-15**

Mass action: Fasting for freedom (solidarity with hunger strike political prisoners) + General assessment (ineffectivity) ANC lead to mass actions in South Africa in recent months.

Date: 00-07-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 17-21**

ANC conference: report on last minute preparations, latest proposals for composition NEC, conference commissions etc. + the role of ANC branches (in the struggle).

Date: 00-07-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 30/31

Apartheid laws: the difference between formality and reality – critical review implications of the repeal of apartheid laws (on race classification etc.).

Date: 00-07-91 Source: Work in Progress, 76 Page: 6-8

The alliance: moving closer to democracy – Inkathagate makes government losing credibility as opposed to promising results ANC and COSATU congresses in July (political and trade union unity).

Date: 00-07-91 Source: History in the Making, 1/6 Page: 32-68

ANC 48th National Conference: final documents – addresses pres. O.Tambo and N.Mandela, final declaration + resolutions on strategy & tactics, MK (p.49), violence (p.50/51), negotiations (p.52-54), foreign policy (p.55-58) and policy development.

Date: 00-07-91 Source: The African Communist, 125 Page: 14-21

Manufacturing a reformist ANC (B.Molapo) – general on pressures (from NP, establishment newspapers etc.) on ANC to take on a reformist approach, esp. on negotiations process in relation to mass struggle by ABC c.s. (References)

Date: 00-07-91 Source: LOTA Bulletin Page: 16/17

Assertieve leden kiezen verjongd leiderschap: ANC-konferentie herstelt binding tussen leiders en achterban (algemeen verslag ANC-konferentie in juli 1991).

Date: 28-06-91 Source: Southscan Page: 214

Forecast indicate former exiles will lose leadership positions (at forthcoming ANC conference).

Date: 28-06-91 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 20/21

ANC national conference: an affair of the nation – general on significance ANC conf. in Durban and spec. on position Youth League and trade unions criticism on ANC.

Date: 28-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 6/7

The ANC national conference: int. conf.organiser Mohammed Valli on preparations for and significance of conference + 'Mayibuye' editor Joel Netshitenzhe on the main political and strategic questions to be decided at the conference.

Date: 28-06-91 Source: DOK. 7.3 Number of pages: 8

Newslink Africa (Botswana newspaper, allegedly secretly funded by South Africa) with articles on a.o. Botswana political parties at ANC-congress and report visit ANC-pres. O.Tambo to Botswana.

Date: 28-06-91 Source: Vrye Weekblad Page: 7

Vier kante van die ANC se saak: voorbeskouwing ANC-kongres in Durban, m.n. over verschillende politiek-strategische opvattingen onder de ANC-leiders.

Date: 27-06-91 Source: South Page: 25

Back to the future after 33 years (general on forthcoming first legal congress ANC in SA since 1960s) + Militants and pragmatists square up over sanctions: report on debate about and different positions within the ANC on the international sanctions campaign, one of the thorniest issues facing the organisation.

Date: 21-06-91 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 3

Sisulu looks a dead cert for ANC's no.2 (preview ANC conf., esp. on NEC election) + Are hit squads still gunning for MK cadres (recent series of assassinations of ANC activists).

Date: 21-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 6/7

ANC national conference: whither mass action – various ANCOfficials on the need for effective mass action and mobilisation of people by ANC (branches) + report on successful ANC-branch in Kattlehong, organising in the Orange Free State, etc.

Date: 21-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 16

An ANC member's response to cde Suttner, part 2: esp. critical of Suttner's position on the role of an Interim Government and Constituent Assembly in the transitional process.

Date: 20-06-91 Source: South Page: 25

Time to shine 'somewhat tarnished image': interview with prof. Colin Bundy, specialist on ANC history, about the variety and intensity of pressures confronting the ANC as it prepares for its national conference in July and the crucial significance of the conference.

Date: 18-06-91 Source: DOK. 10.3D Number of pages: 11

Verslag HIVOS disk.dag "ZA post-apart", 26/4/91: politieke konstellatie en demokratisering Zuid-Afrika (p.2-5), de landhervormingen in ZA (p.6/7), ANC: van strijd naar ontwikkeling (met inleiding AABN;p.8/9) + de huidige en toekomstige relaties tussen Nederland en Zuid-Afrika (p.10/11).

Date: 15-06-91 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 2

De vergissingen van het ANC: kritische voorbeschouwing door S.Bosgra (KZA) van het ANC-kongres in juli 1991 (alg. over politieke situatie en positie ANC in Zuid-Afrika). [Vrij Nederland]

Date: 14-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 6/7

The ANC national conference: int. ANC-leaders T.Mbeki and R.Suttner on the pol.priorities for ANC July conference (main political issues in transitional period, need to restructure ANC, etc.)

Date: 14-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 18

ANC member's response to cde Suttner('s art. on) the transition to majority rule (rejecting constitutional negotiations before all obstacles are removed, All Party conference undemocratic, etc)

Date: 14-06-91 Source: Weekly Mail Page: 15

Mandela the only cert in an open field: speculations about composition of ANC's NEC after the July congress (incl. old age problem of present ANC leadership).

Date: 14-06-91 Source: Vrye Weekblad Page: 6/7

So gaan die nuwe ANC werk: overzicht ANC-struktuur(organen) zoals die er waarschijnlijk na de konferentie in Durban eruit zullen zien + strijd om leidende posities binnen ANC.

Date: 14-06-91 Source: Vrye Weekblad Page: 13

Dit is die foute wat die ANC maak: int. O.Dhlomo (vz Institute for Multiparty Democracy) over politieke en strategiese fouten van het ANC (o.a. tav de etniese kwesie).

Date: 13-06-91 Source: South Page: 25

Tambo keeps hopes for peace alive: interview with ANC-pres. Oliver Tambo (rare, since his stroke in 1989) about his hope for the future and the forthcoming ANC-conference in July.

Date: 07-06-91 Source: Southscan Page: 189

Re-think on size of top ANC body shows power shift to internal leaders: amended proposals for ANC-conference re size and election-procedures of ANC National Executive Committee.

Date: 07-06-91 Source: Southscan Page: 193

ANC Youth Leader P.MOKABA fights for political life after revelations (claims of links with government security operatives, incl. reactions ANC on suspicions.

Date: 07-06-91 Source: Southscan Page: 193/194

Timed media leaks seem aimed at undercutting challenge to ANC intelligence chief J.ZUMA: background to P.Mokaba revelations, incl. position ANC intelligence & security chief Joe NHLANHLA, and esp. on controversial death of MK-commander Thami ZULU in 1989 in ANC-detention and position Zuma in (military structures) ANC.

Date: 07-06-91 Source: New Nation Page: 6/7

Assessing the ANC: key questions facing the July national conference – ANC-officials P.Jordan & K.Motlanthe on political role and position ANC (not just political party but national liberation movement),

style of leadership, democratisation of the organisation, strategic problems ANC in South Africa and internationally, need for unifying strategic perspective, etc.

Date: 01-06-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1 / DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 7**

De Nyanda's: een familie door apartheid verscheurd – portret familie van MK(Vula)-kommandant Siphwe NYANDA in Madadenitownship, Zululand; m.n. verhouding ouders (oud-Inkathaleden) en kinderen (ANC-aanhangers) en gevolgen politiek aktivisme van Siphwe e.a. gezinsleden (E.Groenink). [Vrij Nederland]

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Die Suidafrikaan** **Page: 5-12**

Negotiations become a site of struggle: ANC's perspective and strategic options on the eve of its July conference (general on ANC's position re negotiations-process, mass action violence in South Africa, etc.); incl. a short guide to ANC-leadership and their possible rise or fall at the conference.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 4/5**

De ondermijning van het ANC: verharding standpunten ANC tgv voortdurend geweld en m.n. over de geheime operaties vanuit het veiligheidsapparaat.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 12/13**

Mass action: short review various campaigns ANC c.s. in May 1991, incl. problem of lack of coordination/preparation and need to work for a major national campaign.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 14-19**

Planning the transition: self-critical review of the most important questions to be debated/decided at ANC National Conference (unity, international front, violence and negotiations, constituent assembly, etc.) + historical background to conf. (esp. on ANC-conf. in Durban, 1958 and Kabwe, 1985; p.17-19).

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 20-23**

ANC draft constitution: acid test for democracy – main points present draft constitution for ANC (on internal democracy, choosing leadership, position of women, etc.)

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: New Era (winter 1991)** **Page: 23-26**

The way of the war: panel discussion of ANC-officials J.Zuma A.Mpheto, J.Schreiner and J.Gomomo on pol. violence in South Africa, the need for defence units, the most crucial issues at the forthcoming ANC-conference and the way in which the leadership will be elected.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 18**

Na de euforie: de obstakels op de weg naar het nieuwe ZA – Kees de Pater (KZA) over de veranderingen in Zuid-Afrika in afgelopen jaar, m.n. posities regering en ANC m.b.t. het onderhandelingsproces, de opbouw van het ANC, de invloed van de golf van politiek geweld in ZA, de internationale isolatie van Zuid-Afrika (sankties), etc. (Noten)

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: DOK. 10.2B** **Number of pages: 8**

Weerwerk, jrg 3, nr.2 (donateursblad KZA): o.a. overzicht problemen ANC in veranderingsproces ZA, kritiek op beleid Nederlandse regering tav Zuid-Afrika (opheffen sankties), aankondiging kamp. KZA in herfst 1991, verslag lokale activiteiten in Utrecht en Haarlem, etc.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 75** **Page: 6-11**

Using the carrot or the stick: preview ANC-conf. in July '91 (general on problem of integrating policy and practice by ANC-leadership) + Power from below? (idem, spec. on the debate about ANC's draft constitution, i.c. organisational structures, etc.) + The politics of specificity (critical review ANC's draft Strategy and Tactics document for conference).

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 75** **Page: 28-31**

The politics of ethnicity: fighting fire with fire – debate about the role of Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses and the problems of ethnicity in the struggle to build one South African nation (esp. on policies NIC since 1970s) + Int. NIC-activist about political developments within NIC, relation to ANC c.s, the so-called 'cabal', etc.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 75 Page: 32-34**

The Winnie saga: will it harm the ANC? – review 'Winnie MANDELA saga', esp. since 1988, different approaches to her position and the implications of it for the ANC.

Date: 00-06-91 **Source: Monitor** **Page: 81-96**

The 48th National Conference of the ANC (July 1991): summarised reports on presidential address, messages of support, secretary-general report, election of the ANC-NEC & adopted resolutions on various issues, incl. economic policy, constitutional principles, violence, etc.

Date: 30-05-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 5**

Mokaba issue still on the boil: in spite of official ANC denial, still many questions unanswered about alleged links between P.MOKABA and the security police.

Date: 30-05-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

Die angst raak je wel kwijt: int. ANC-vertegenwoordiger in Nederland, Kumar SANJAY, over zijn aanstaande terugkeer naar Zuid-Afrika, zijn ervaringen in Nederland, situatie ZA, etc. [Trouw]

Date: 29-05-91 **Source: South** **Page: 1/2**

I'm no impimpi, says Peter MOBAKA: reaction Mokaba on claims that he's a police-informer, incl. statement ANC security chief J.Nhlanhla and position ANC Youth League.

Date: 29-05-91 **Source: South** **Page: 25**

MWT back home to plague ANC: history Marxist Workers Tendency (in the ANC) and possible implications of their return from exile, incl. comments by ANC-officials.

Date: 24-05-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 1/2**

Is this top ANC man a spy? – allegations against ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba of working for security police (incl. possible background in internal ANC intrigues).

Date: 24-05-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 14**

Boesak contemplates a return to the centre-stage: int. Allan Boesak on his political ambitions (within ANC), position ANC in general, etc.

Date: 24-05-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC leader 'spied for the police' + ANC blames 'enemies' for spy affair (art. D.Beresford in Guardian about allegations of Peter MOKABA working for security police).

Date: 17-05-91 **Source: Southscan** **Page: 168/169**

Winnie Mandela trial verdict: impact trial and conviction W.Mandela esp. on (her position within) ANC + 'football team' Mrs. Mandela still operates as independent unit.

Date: 17-05-91 **Source: Weekly Mail** **Page: 8**

Review main issues for ANC congress in July: leadership, org.structure, strategy and tactics, etc. + N.Mandela's trip to Indonesia raises questions about ANC's international policy.

Date: 14-05-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 8**

Sel. newspaper art. England on trial against Winnie MANDELA, incl. her personal record and present position in South Africa, implications for ANC/N.Mandela etc. [Independent/Guardian]

Date: 14-05-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 1**

ANC press release on the case of cde Winnie Mandela (critical of conviction and sentence W.Mandela).

Date: 10-05-91 **Source: New Nation** **Page: 3**

Mass action makes impact: report on present ANC-campaigns in solidarity with political prisoners on hungerstrike, violence, etc. (incl. actions ANC Women's League).

Date: 05-05-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 12**

Beyond black and white: non-racialism vs the image of racial polarization – paper J.Frederikse for conf. Paradiso, A'dam (summary of her book on Non-racialism in South Africa – BIB. 11.1-56).

Date: 03-05-91 Source: New Nation Page: 6/7

On the political agenda: int. ANC internat. affairs head T.Mbeki about the implications of the government's failure to meet the April 30 deadline on the political agenda for 1991 (general on negotiations process, role violence, Patriotic Front conference, Interim government, sanctions-campaign, ANC-conf. in July, etc.

Date: 03-05-91 Source: Vrye Weekblad Page: 6

Ontevredenheid oor ANC-leiers neem toe (vanwege gebrek aan vooruitgang in onderhandelingen met regering): m.n. positie ANC Youth League.

Date: 03-05-91 Source: Southscan Page: 152/153

ANC congress: union and UDF faces set to replace old exile leadership – general pol. situation in/of ANC, esp. on leadership struggle + draft proposal for election of new NEC.

Date: 03-05-91 Source: Facts and Reports Page: 4

[I15] SA Report, 19/4/91: 'ANC bashing' has become a sinister government ploy – revelations N.Basson on covert anti-ANC act. SADF (military intelligence), incl. role SABC a.o. media in it.

Date: 02-05-91 Source: DOK. 11.1 Number of pages: 3

Van Strijd naar opbouw: int. K.Sanjay (ANC), G.Ebrahim (PAC) en O.Mangena (BCMA/AZAPO) over alg. politieke situatie in Zuid-Afrika, onderhandelingen, internationale solidariteit, etc. [NN]

Date: 00-05-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 10-12

Mass action: assessing strengths and weaknesses – review mixed results signature campaign (for Constituent Assembly etc.) and April 6 marches (political prisoners) + future actions debate.

Date: 00-05-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 13-16

Countdown to conference: int. J.Jele (Secr. Nat. Prep. Committee) about preparations for the conference, representation and main issues to be debated (ANC Constitution, expansion of the NEC, strategy & tactics, programme of action, etc.

Date: 00-05-91 Source: SA Report Page: 10-13

The high costs of stalemate: sobering account (by D.O'Meara) of present situation in South Africa, incl. position De Klerk government and ANC in negotiations/transformation process.

Date: 00-05-91 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 30

ERIP Resource Pack on Strategy and tactics of the ANC: programme and discussion documents for ANC/ERIP-workshop, incl. Basic principles of the ANC: a tentative examination (paper R.Suttner for ANC/ERIP pol. education course for regional educators, April 1991 – general on the pol. principles of the ANC and the relation with its strategies, structure, etc. (p.13)

Date: 00-05-91 Source: DOK. 4.1 Number of pages: 7

Het ANC tussen bevrijdingsbeweging en regeringspartij (I.van Kessel): positie/veranderingsproces ANC ten tijde van konf. in dec. 1990, inkl. organisatorische problemen, strategie-debat, alliantiepolitiek etc. (noten) [Internationale Spectator]

Date: 19-04-91 Source: Facts and Reports Page: 4

[H16] Guardian, 14/4/91: ANC's credibility problem (summary of criticism among members a.o. on ANC's present performance incl. comment on it by ANC information official G.Marcus).

Date: 00-04-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 14/15

Mass action for people's power: general review of present and forthcoming ANC-campaigns (Signature Campaign for Constituent Assembly etc., on education crisis, political prisoners a.o.

Date: 00-04-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 16/17

ANC: report Western Cape organiser on development ANC in Namaqualand (rural area in Northern Cape).

Date: 00-04-91 Source: Mayibuye Page: 42

Report on conf. of national and regional political education officers of the ANC, Feb.1991, incl. review work and programme of action of ANC Dept. of Political Education.

Date: 00-04-91 **Source: Die Suidafrikaan** **Page: 26-29**

Dilemmas of public accountability: the case of Winnie Mandela – background to trial W.Mandela and her political role, incl. implications of both for ANC c.s.

Date: 00-04-91 **Source: Die Suidafrikaan** **Page: 34-37**

Coming to terms with the failure of socialism:the ANC mourns the GDR – H.Adam on impact collapse communism in Eastern Europe (esp. GDR) on ANC c.s. + ANC-official E.Singh on what went wrong in the GDR, incl. GDR-assistance to ANC up till December 1990.

Date: 11-03-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Statement of the tripartite alliance on the launch of ANC's signature campaign for a constituent assembly and interim government (incl. programme launch 11-24/3/91 and signature form).

Date: 06-03-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 2(14)**

Int. Allister Sparks algemeen over situatie/veranderingsproces in Zuid-Afrika, positie De Klerk, situatie van ANC, SACP etc. (B.Luirink). [Groene Amsterdammer]

NB: Ook integrale, ongereedigeerde tekst interview – zie DOK. 11.1, 1/3/91 (12 p.).

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 14-16**

Lessons from the streets: report and assessment results of February 1 stay away and demonstrations in support of ANC's demand for a Constituent Assembly.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 17/18**

Report workshop of ANC media officers on the work of ANC's Dept. of Information and Publicity (DIP): review tasks and act. DIP, relation to media organisations, problems, training, etc.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 16**

Barometer on negotiation, Vol.3,no.1: int. with B.Alexander (PAC), P.Molefe (UDF/ANC), P.Mokaba (ANC) and (unanimous) NP official on role pol. parties in present pol. process in South Africa, code of conduct for parties, transformation pol. organisations into registered political parties, etc.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 4**

Repealing the race laws: significance of speech De Klerk in parliament 1/2/91 and efforts ANC to forge accords with PAC and Inkatha. [Africa Report]

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: New Era (autumn 1991)** **Page: 8-11**

Mr. MK: int. MK Chief of Staff Chris Hanani about (various points of criticism on) ANC's policies towards the negotiations process (esp. role of the All-Party Congress and Interim Government), position of MK (and SADF), role of the youth, problem of ethnicity, the Patriotic Front, relations to civics, etc.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: New Era (autumn 1991)** **Page: 29-31**

Winnie Mandela trial: Acid test for ANC – critical review ANC's position towards trial W.Mandela and her remarkable political comeback in the last two years.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: Anti-Apartheid News** **Page: 7**

Interview gen.secr. ANC's PWV region, Barbara HOGAN, on her personal involvement in the struggle, ANC's organisation, (political) violence in South Africa, etc.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: History in the Making, No.4** **Page: 9-19**

One year of an unbanned ANC: ANC Dept.of Political Education document (Feb.'91) with general assessment of ANC's role and development in South Africa since February 1990.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: History in the Making, No.4** **Page: 20-25**

79th Anniversary Statement, January 8th 1991 – ANC National Executive Committee (outline ANC-position on political situation, negotiations process, etc. in South Africa).

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: History in the Making, No.4** **Page: 68-71**

Joint statement of ANC/IFP meeting, Durban, 19/1/1991 + Agreement between ANC and IFP (idem) + Joint declaration ANC and IFP (idem) – results peace talks ANC and Inkatha.

Date: 00-03-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 31**

From banned liberation movement to legal political party: Challenges before the African National Congress of SA at present (Yunus Carrim; Un. of Natal) – review political, strategical and organisational implications of the unbanning of the ANC. (notes and references)

NB: also later version, published by CIIR – DOK. 4.1, 0/8/91

Date: 28-02-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 2**

Anti-apartheid: van strijd en protest naar ontwikkeling – verslag ANC-donorkonferentie in Arusha, mn over problemen rond steun aan (onderwijs)projekten ANC in Tanzania (ondanks onderwijskrisis in ZA), noodzaak steun aan ex-guerilla's ANC en alg. voor ontw.steun aan democratisch Zuid-Afrika (K.Roskam). [Forum]

Date: 14-02-91 **Source: DOK. 20.1** **Number of pages: 2**

De zekerheid van een politikus die niet van deze wereld lijkt: politiek portret Nelson MANDELA sinds zijn vrijlating tegen achtergrond van ANC-beleid (D.Niddrie). [Forum]

Date: 08-02-91 **Source: DOK. 11.1** **Number of pages: 2**

De Klerk onder druk van militante ANC-vleugel: alg. beschouwing over politieke situatie/ontwikkelingen Zuid-Afrika door drs.J.W. vd Meulen, inkl. over positie ANC. [Fin.Dagblad]

Date: 06-02-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 13**

Set papers ANC Donors Conference in Arusha, 6-8/2/1991: list of participants + commission papers on culture (3 p.), sport (2 p.), women (3 p.) and development (ANC Land Commission, 3 p.).

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 7-9**

Mass action for power: ANC Programme of Action for 1991 (on negotiations, Constituent Assembly, education crisis, women's struggle, etc.) + campaigning plans for February 1, 1991.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 10/11**

The President's impressions: int. ANC-president O.Tambo on his assessment of the present political situation in South Africa (negotiations process), the position of the ANC, etc.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 12-15**

Branch building: general on the role of branches in building the ANC (local leadership, cadres etc.) + organisational priorities of the ANC.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 16/17**

Towards an All-Party Congress: int. W.Sisulu (ANC-NEC) on the objectives of the All-Party Congress, role in negotiations process, possible participants, prospects for it, etc.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Mayibuye** **Page: 22-29**

Texts documents ANC Consultative Conference, 12-14/12/1991: Declaration, Programme of Action, Resolution on negotiations and suspension of armed struggle, idem on violence, on underground and MK, on sanctions and on international isolation + impressions of the conference by some delegates.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 3**

De eierdans van het ANC: moeizame ontwikkeling pol.strategie ANC (algemeen en spec. tav sancties) nav ANC-konf. in dec. 1990 en bijeenkomst met anti-apartheidsgroepen in Brussel in jan.1991.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Amandla** **Page: 20/21**

Verzinkt tot op het bot: impressies S.Bosgra van zijn bezoek aan Zuid-Afrika eind 1990; algemeen over politieke situatie ZA en specifiek over (moeilijke) situatie ANC.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Anti Apartheids Krant** **Page: 4**

Het ANC en haar sponsors: verslag K.Roskam van ANC donors konf. in Arusha, feb.1991, mn over houding donors tov ANC-projekten in Tanzania en betekenis ontwikkelingshulp voor Zuid-Afrika.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: Anti Apartheids Krant** **Page: 6/7**

Int. (ex-)ANC-bestuurslid Mac MAHARAJ over zijn (politieke) ontwikkeling, deelname aan gewapende strijd ANC, leidende rol in ondergrondse operatie 'Vula' sinds 1986, huidige politieke situatie in Zuid-Afrika en positie ANC, noodzaak van een 'questioning culture', proces tegen Vula-groep, etc.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 26**

Advance to national democracy: Guidelines on strategy and tactics of the ANC – discussion doc. for ANC conf. July '91; analysis balance of forces in South Africa, the nature of South African society, character and forces of transformation, ANC approach to the transition, forms of struggle, strategic tasks in the transition and conclusions.

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: BIB. 11.1/3-62** **Number of pages: 122**

NEGOTIATED OR INSURRECTIONARY AGENDA?: SA and the Five-Year Plan – M'Afrika Ka M.Nodumehlezi (Govan Mbeki Fund, Un. of Amsterdam); reserach report GMF-fellow Nodumehlezi about the South African debate on democracy, critically analysing the 'democratic' reform policy of the government/NP + discussing various crucial political and social-economic issues (from ANC-perspective). Notes/references

Date: 00-02-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 12**

ERIP Resource Pack on Constituent Assembly and Interim Govt (April 1991): sel.documents for workshop officials ANC Dept. Pol. Educ. on IG, CA, negotiations in general, etc. – incl. One year of an unbanned ANC: The road ahead (general assessment pol. developments and role ANC since Feb.1990 and debate about strategic priorities ANC in present situation).

Date: 19-01-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 3**

Versleten leuzen: het ANC verlamd door de overwinningsroes – spanning tussen realistische politiek ANC-leiding en militante achterban (tav sanktiebeleid, positie MK, etc.). [Elsevier]

Date: 18-01-91 **Source: SA Barometer** **Page: 8-11**

ANC Consultative Conference 1990: text resolutions on sanctions, negotiations, violence and programme of action.

Date: 14-01-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 15**

Set with (mainly organisational) information on ANC Donors Conference in Arusha, Tanzania, 6-8/2/91, incl. text Policy statement on ANC projects, 20/4/90.

Date: 08-01-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 24**

Year of mass action for the transfer of power to the people: January 8 statement ANC-NEC – general on political situation in South Africa and ANC's position on range of strategy issues (mass action, negotiations, Constituent Assembly, All-Party Congress, Interim Government, violence, building the ANC, etc.).

Date: 00-01-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 72 Page: 7/8**

Marrying mass action with creative leadership: general assessment situation of/in ANC after its Consultative Conference in December 1990.

Date: 00-01-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 72 Page: 9-13**

Voice from the underground: mass struggle is the key – art. R.Kasrils/M.Khuzwayo on the political strategy of the ANC, arguing for the effective combination of negotiations and mass mobilisation and struggle + a detailed programme of action under coherent, centralised ANC leadership.

Date: 00-01-91 **Source: Work in Progress, 72 Page: 22-24**

Int. ANC-officials R.Suttner (Pol.Ed.) and J.Netshitenzhe DIP) on the demand for an Interim Government (background, implications, etc.) and how demand should be taken up.

Date: 00-01-91 **Source: DOK. 4.1** **Number of pages: 45**

Let the people decide: negotiations and the struggle for a democratic South Africa (ANC Dept. of Pol.Education); cartoon-brochure explaining ANC-policies in general and spec.on negotiations.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: DOK. 11.1 Number of pages: 53

Suppl.: Congresses, conferences and position statements in 1990 – sel. SAn newspaper art. on policy positions of a.o. ANC Consultative Conf. (p.38-48) + SACP (p.49-56).

Date: 00-01-91 Source: Focus, No.92 Page: 2

Mass action: community struggles for democracy (review activities in connection with ANC campaign of mass action in Nov./Dec.1990 – on various issues).

Date: 00-01-91 Source: DOK. 11.1 Number of pages: 5

South Africa 1991: year of decision – general review political situation and prospects for 1991 in South Africa, esp. positions government and ANC in negotiations process, other problems ANC (in relation to Inkatha etc.) and international position South Africa (Guy Arnold). [Africa Forum]

Date: 00-01-91 Source: DOK. 11.1 Number of pages: 3

Who really beat apartheid? – edited version speech J.KaneBerman (SAIRR) on 'political monopolism' in South Africa, esp. at the side of the ANC a.o. political opposition groups. [Tribute]

Date: 00-01-91 Source: African Communist, no.124 Page: 29-42

Corridors to corruption: lengthy art. by Toussaint on the ingredient of power which proves capable of corrupting even the most incorruptible leaders of social and political movements after they gained (state)power; with reference to both Eastern Europe and (the possible course of events in) South Africa.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 4.1-02B Number of pages: 160

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS DIARY 1991 (ANC); incl. short history ANC, ANC-symbols, addresses in South Africa, the National Anthem, the Freedom Charter, Constitutional Guidelines, national days, etc.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 4.1-29 / 20.1-40 Number of pages: 232

LEARNING FROM ROBBEN ISLAND: The prison writings of Govan Mbeki – (UWC H&CC/D.Philip a.o.); selection of articles by ANC/SACP-leader G.Mbeki during his imprisonment on Robben Island (on wide range of subjects, incl. the rise and growth of Afrikaner capital (p.16-63) a.o. aspects of the economic history of South Africa until the 1970s (p.102-159). Index.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 4.1-29 Number of pages: 232

LEARNING FROM ROBBEN ISLAND: The prison writings of Govan Mbeki – (UWC H&CC/D.Philip a.o.); selection of articles by ANC/SACP-leader G.Mbeki during his imprisonment on Robben Island (on wide range of subjects); incl. on various organisational problems ANC c.s., relationship between ANC-SACP, analysis of class and race relations in South Africa, etc. Index.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 11.1-65 Page: 101-119

APARTHEID THE FACTS (Revised edition 1991) – (IDAF; 128 p.); basic information on the apartheid policy in South Africa; incl. sections on resistance and the liberation struggle, incl. history, role ANC, mass mobilisation in the 1980s, the armed struggle etc. (p.101-119). Bibliography, references + index.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 17-79 Number of pages: 181

IMAGES OF DEFIANCE: SAn resistance posters in the 1980s – (SAHA/Ravan Press); introduction on the production of (political) posters in South Africa + sections (with hundreds of reproduced posters) on politics (p.13-42), labour (p.43-72), community struggles (p.73-102), education (p.103-124), militarisation and repression (p.125-156) and culture (p.157-178).

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 11.4-70 Page: 175-222

TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY: Policy perspectives 1991 – Ed. R.Lee /L.Schlemmer (Oxford Univ. Press; 278 p.); collection of 12 art. on the background and implications of Pres. De Klerk's Feb.2,1990 speech incl. The NP and the South African transition (S.Friedman; p.175-197) + Organisation and strategies of major resistance movements in the negotiation areas (J.Rantete/M.Swilling;p.198-222). References.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 19.1/2/3-09A Number of pages: 327

FOUNDATIONS OF THE NEW SA – John Pampallis (Zed Books/Maskew Millier,Longman); textbook on the history of South Africa and the struggle against apartheid by ex-teacher SOMAFCO, incl. developments until 1912 (chapter 1-4; p.1-70), period 1912-77 (5-18; p.71-263) and 1978-1990 (19/20; p.264-305). With doc. on ANC etc., bibliography, index, maps & illustrations.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 4.1-34 Number of pages: 353

MANDELA, TAMBO and the African National Congress: the struggle against apartheid (a documentary survey) – S.Johns/R.Hunt Davis (Oxford Univ. Press); 63 selected documents, articles, speeches etc. by (an on) Nelson MANDELA, Oliver TAMBO and the ANC from 1948 up till February 1990. Sources, bibliography + index.

Date: 00-01-91 Source: BIB. 4.1/2/3-35 Number of pages: 414

ALL, HERE, AND NOW: Black politics in SA in the 1980s – T.Lodge/B.Nasson (Ford Foundation/D.Philip); broad and detailed analysis of the development of black political organisations and struggles, both on national and regional level in South Africa in 1980s. Incl. differences, role UDF, ANC, etc. (sel. & annotated bibliography; notes; index).